1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

office tended to become hereditary. Each councillor had his own village which he administered as a headman. A second set of officials were the court assessors, *mapungu*, who, unlike the councillors, were not in charge of villages of their own in addition to their court duties. Their office was not hereditary and they were chosen for their wisdom and their debating ability. They lived at the court of the chief and their main duty was to sift the evidence in the judicial cases which came before him.

The village headmen were expected to send elephant tusks to the chief (receiving small gifts in return), and to invite him to a yearly beer drink. Like the chief, the village headman governed through a council of the most important men in his village. They constituted a kind of village court over which he presided, and in the old days he could give capital sentence, or award a fine of as many as four slaves. Appeal from his decision lay to the court of the superior headman, or to the chief. Important cases would be reported direct to the chief. Most crimes would be settled by compensation. In cases of murder, several slaves were paid to the kin of the victim, and a fine for spilling blood to the chief. When compensation was handed over, the recipient always returned some part of it as sign that friendship was restored.[1]

Macdonald's further account of the treatment of crime shows how weak was the political organization, in spite of the apparent orderliness of the system of inferior and superior courts. A murderer caught red-handed might be killed at once. If captured alive he might be ransomed on payment of a fine of from four to twenty slaves, some of whom might be killed to accompany the dead. If the murderer escaped a relative of his would be captured and ransomed. This applied to murders occurring among parties friendly to one another and living in the same village. If the murderer was from another village, the injured village, if strong enough, would fall upon the other and kill and enslave the inhabitants. If not strong enough, the chief might be called in to help to annihilate the guilty village.[2]

Modern Administration

In the whole of Nyasaland there must be between thirty and forty Yao chiefs. In the districts of Liwonde, Fort Johnston, and Zomba, where 60 per cent. of the Yao population is concentrated (1931 boundaries), there are at least fifteen such chiefs. Not all those who have the rank of chief in the old Yao system are recognized as Native Authorities or even as Sub-Native Authorities by the Nyasaland Administration, and many Sub-Native Authorities would be full chiefs in the Yao system, and quite independent of the Native Authorities under whom they are placed.

Nowadays the chief has lost many of his former claims to status. He no longer has monopoly of the trade to the coast, for goods are brought in by Indian traders and bought by African tobacco growers or returned labour migrants. He can no longer use his slaves to increase his wealth by running slaving expeditions. His tribute of food and ivory has ceased, and he can no longer entertain lavishly, but he is still expected to give burial cloths and to make gifts to headmen on their succession to office. Some of his councillors have been made court assessors, and are paid for those duties, but others are expected to work for him unpaid. Some chiefs do reward councillors who retain their traditional status but are not officially recognized as assessors by the

[1] Macdonald, 1882, vol. i, pp. 156–8; Bowman, A. 1922, p. 279.
[2] Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 170–1.

1: Tew E-4 (no date) 1950 FT7 Yao FT7

622 631 178 Administration, but many cannot afford to do this. The people regard the taxes they pay to the Administration as a substitute for the chief's tribute. As the Native Authority the chief appears to be responsible for tax-collection, as the tax-clerk lives at the court.

631 622 693 The chief is responsible to the Administration, among other things, for latrine construction and for punishing the infringement of various regulations. His main duties are judicial, as judge of the Native Authority Court. The bureaucracy attached to the Native Authority includes a number of functionaries, e.g. Kawinga's, in 1947 one of the larger courts, had 1 court clerk, 1 assistant court clerk, 1 community worker, 1 forest guard, 1 agricultural demonstrator, 1 sanitary inspector, 9 court messengers, 2 caretakers, 4 garetta men, 1 market clerk, 1 market sweeper, 6 court assessors. These are paid by the Native Treasury. Court assessors help in the arbitration of cases. The key position at court is held by the court clerk, and usually he is not a Yao, but an Nguru, who, because he is literate, is the medium of all written communications to and from the chief. The court sergeant is the correct channel of approach to the chief, and the court messengers represent the chief to the villages.

631 622 The territory of a Native Authority is divided into 'administrative villages', under officially recognized and paid headmen. Within these areas there are clusters of huts, which do not form officially recognized administrative units, but which are none the less villages under their own hereditary headmen. The administrative village headman is responsible for the payment of taxes in his area, and for the observance of various regulations. He is usually a man with some standing in the Yao social system: one who has the right to conduct a boys' initiation ceremony, or to wear the head-band signifying rank. His authority is derived partly from his status as a senior kinsman, partly from his status as a village headman. If the administrative village under him includes a number of hamlets unrelated to the administrative village headman, he will delegate his responsibilities in these hamlets to their own headmen. Consequently, since village headmen perform administrative duties, whether they are officially recognized or not, there is competition among them for the official posts. In order to bring pressure to bear on the chief to make him concede marks of rank, they may threaten to move out of his area, and so to deplete his following. In spite of this bargaining tool, the position of the village headman *vis-à-vis* the chief is said to be getting progressively weaker. Cases once tried by them are now being taken to the chief's court, and the latter is able to draw on the power of the Administration to establish his dominance over the headmen.

631 648 [17] The chief in the modern system stands as the representative of the people to the white Administration, and as the representative of the white Administration to the people. One reason for the lack of direct contact between the Administration and the people is the fact that Yao is not the official language of the district, and therefore Yao interpreters are necessary.

There are some occasions when the chief and his officials perform the functions proper to their office under the old social system. The white Administration is not concerned with their ritual functions, nor with initiation rites, nor does it take cognisance of witchcraft offences. Accusations of witchcraft are judged by the same personnel as accusations of theft or adultery, but they are not dealt with in the court house, nor recorded in the book.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

the last rite the owner of the oblational basket exacts a payment of threepence or so from each parent. The headman does gain financially from the initiation ceremony, but it would be wrong to imagine that this is the only reason why he should want to have the right to hold it. The competition for the rights, which are limited to a few, is part of the general political process whereby village headmen compete for privileges and advantages over their fellows.

Village headmen may hold either the boys' or the girls' initiation ceremonies, or both. Sometimes, when they hold both, they delegate the girls' ceremony to a younger brother or some other relative without referring to the chief. For example, Kawinga's clan relative and important retainer, Ngalawanga, had the rights to both initiation ceremonies, and he allowed his perpetual 'son' Isa [1] to hold the girls'. Also in Nyambi area, Majaja, who had both initiation rights, allowed his perpetual 'son' Nantunga to have the girls' ceremony. It is generally conceded that the right to hold the boys' initiation ceremonies is more valuable than the right to hold the girls'. H. L. Duff, writing in 1906, had also noticed this when he wrote:

> The respective ceremonies seem to be considered as on a somewhat different footing, for the boys' *inyago* can properly be held only at the village and under the patronage of, so to say, the paramount chief of the neighbourhood, whereas the girls' initiation may take place under the auspices of an inferior headman. This distinction is still jealously observed and any breach of the chief's privileges is apt to lead to bitter dispute.[2]

The sanction the chief holds over the headmen in this respect is mystical. A village headman believes that the initiation will be a success (that is, that the initiands will be free from the harm of wild beasts and illness, or the circumcision wounds of the boys will heal quickly and well), only if the approval of the chief's ancestors is obtained. He cannot hold the initiation ceremonies, unless he has obtained the basket from the chief.

Most people still follow tribal initiation customs, but in the extremes of the area in which I worked, religious ideas are bringing about a change. In the north in Jalasi's area where Islam

[1] The first Isa was the son of Ngalawanga and this relationship is preserved by the modern incumbents of the headmanships. See Chap. V, p. 122.

[2] Duff, H. L., *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office* (London, 1906), 312.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

881 is most powerful, there is a tendency for the Islamic initiation
178 ceremony for boys, *jandu*, and the Islamic initiation ceremony
795 for girls, *nsondo*, to displace the tribal equivalents, *lupanda* and
622 *ciputu*. These Moslem initiations are conducted by Moslem
554 teachers (*mwalimu*) and are not controlled by the chief. Though it also involves the circumcision of the boys, *jandu* is very much shorter and the boys are secluded for only a week. Some say it is becoming more popular because it is less expensive for the boys' parents. In Chiwalo's area the two ceremonies are run concurrently. The boys and girls go through the normal segregation rites at the beginning of the ceremony, but an *mwalimu* circumcises the boys according to Islamic practice. At the aggregation rites at the end of the period of seclusion, the star and crescent appears as one of the symbols along with the whale (*namungumi*), antelope (*mbalapi*), leopard (*cisuwi*), and the other tribal effigies which are shown to the boys. Christianity in the south has had a similar effect. The Missions actively discouraged initiation ceremonies in the past. Many of the people in Mposa's and Malemia's area have dropped the custom, or have integrated prayers and other parts of Christian ritual into the ceremonies, though circumcision is steadfastly retained. The effect of these changes is that the important ritual control the chief had over the ceremony has been undermined, and so the prestige attached to it has also begun to fade in these areas. What I describe about the prestige of village headmen and the rights they have to initiation ceremonies is only partially true, and is falling away daily. The correlation I seek to establish is also disturbed by the fact that among the Nguru there is a slightly different initiation ceremony (*cidodoto*) for boys. Most Nguru send their boys to the Yao initiations but there are still some who hold their own traditional ceremonies. These are not within the mystical control of the chief so that some Nguru headmen are outside the competition for the initiation rights. I should say, however, that most compete with the Yao for Yao initiation rights so that this factor is not as disturbing as appears at first sight. In addition, village headmen who move into a new area usually must obtain the permission of the chief before they may use the initiation rights they held before coming into the area.

622 There are other indicators of the general high rank of village
554 headmen. Junior headmen, like commoners, must give a special
576

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

headmen is higher than among the Aborigines or the Newcomers. It also shows quite clearly that the chief's direct relatives hold more of the privileges associated with rank than his clan relatives do, and they in turn hold more than his non-relatives.

The Political Process as a Struggle of Headmen Against the Chief

Modern chiefdoms appear to be organized on essentially the same principles as those described by Duff MacDonald. A chiefdom is headed by a chief and under him his subjects are organized in villages. Each village is represented by a headman, who stands in a relationship to the chief and to other village headmen, according to the prestige of the group he represents. This prestige is determined partly by his historical association with the chief in his past military exploits, partly by the size of his village, and partly by the prestige he has had in other areas. These elements were significant in Yao polity before the advent of the Whites, as we have seen from Duff MacDonald's description. Village headmen then were continually involved in a struggle for power among themselves and against the chief.[1] The struggle for power among village headmen continues to-day though in a changed context. Military power is no longer the object of the competition between them: the struggle for followers has become transmuted into a struggle for tax-payers. In harmony with the new political and economic situation a successful headman is not rewarded by military superiority, but by Government recognition and an official emolument.

At the same time, the chief whose power in the pre-White days resided in his armed forces, nowadays draws on the power of the White Administration to exercise his authority over his village headmen. His position is strengthened by Government decree and he does not hesitate to threaten to use it if necessary. Although the prestige of chiefs is higher than that of any of the village headmen, the difference in prestige between any chief and his most important headman is not very great. They are treated with almost the same deference by the minor village headmen and commoners, and they are referred to by the same term (*mwenye* = chief). The chief or an important village headman

[1] See Chap. II, p. 34.

The chief or an important village headman
[601] is usually addressed by a kinship term, either *baba* (father) or
643 *ambuje* (master or grandparent). When he is referred to, his
622 name is not used. Village headmen are owners or wardens of
554 villages (*aryene misi*) but only those headmen of some standing
178 are referred to as *mwenye*.

643 Important village headmen, like the chief, are in mystical
622 danger from pollution by death. They cannot come to the hut in
554 which a corpse is lying; and they cannot eat the chicken which
761 has been brought to them by relatives of the deceased to announce the death. Like the chief too, an important headman may be buried in a tomb in his village and not in the graveyard.

643 But an important element in their relationship nowadays is
622 that the Administration will support the chief against a village
554 headman when it comes to a trial of strength, and that a headman
578 these days is precluded by modern conditions from setting up
691 chiefdoms as he did in the old days. Village headmen therefore must struggle for power against their fellows and the chief within the modern Administrative framework. Some attempts are made to resist the power of the chief but these are rarely successful. The dispute between Liwonde and Ndenda illustrates this.

Ndenda was an Nguru headman, who in 1947 had 284 tax-payers under him (Liwonde, the chief, had 186 in his village). Ndenda had come into Liwonde's area before the White invasion and had surrendered with his relative Mlelemba, to Liwonde. The second Liwonde had given him both initiation rights but, unlike his relative, he did not have the right to wear a scarlet headband.

In 1938 or thereabouts, Liwonde decided to move his village site from the Shire River to its present site about half-way up the Great Rift scarp. He sent two of his young men to look for a suitable site, and to plant some mango trees there when they had found one. Ndenda heard of this and sent one of his men to take Liwonde's men into custody. He took their hoes away and then told them to go back to tell the chief they were planting in his (Ndenda's) land. In due course Liwonde moved up to his new site, and asked Ndenda why he had taken the hoes away and whether he owned the country, i.e. was the chief. Ndenda now argued that Mlelemba's ancestors had been given the rights of chieftainship over this area and that the first Mlelemba in the area had given Liwonde some elephant tusks for these rights. Liwonde replied that the chief has a right to tusks and that many had given tusks to him but were not entitled for that reason to rights of chieftainship. Liwonde handled this situation by calling a meeting of the village headmen in the area. They assembled

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

of his malice towards him, might equally be called upon to do this. The person makes a statement to the effect that he bears no malice and hopes that the sufferer will be well. For example, a woman in Cikoja village who was called upon to 'blow water' during the labour pains of her mother's younger sister's daughter's daughter,[1] because they had quarrelled over a sifting basket, put some water in her mouth, spat it out and said: 'Those words I spoke: the basket is mine. This is my child. Both are mine. When I spoke and asked my child about it, they were not words to place in my heart, so that to-day we should have to go to the diviner because my child is hitched[2] and be accused because of the sifting basket. These words I push aside. I do not know whether there are other words that we fought about, but if they are these, my daughter's child come out!'[3] Sometimes the ancestors are specifically invoked, '*Conde, conde ŵamasoka* . . .' 'Please, please, O spirits . . .' This is a public confession of the tension within the lineage and it allows the lineage leaders to attempt to straighten out the difficulties, as they did in this case.[4]

These beliefs in mystical dangers of one sort or another which beset the matrilineage as the result of bad feelings within it, have the effect of constraining matrilineage members to maintain peaceable relations among themselves and are, therefore, conducive to maximum solidarity.

It is clear from MacDonald's writings that in earlier times the periodic offerings to the spirits of the ancestors was a valuable way in which the solidarity of the matrilineage was expressed. With the introduction of Islam and Christianity these sacrifices have disappeared. I have not worked in Christian areas long enough to be able to say whether the ancestor cult still persists. In the northern area, however, I can say that the ancestor cult survives as part of the practice of Islam. Periodically, feasts are held in

[1] See the history of the division in Cikoja lineage, pp. 165–6.

[2] *Kukolekwa*, i.e. the child cannot be born.

[3] *Une maloŵegala ciselo cila cangune. Aju mwanangu. Yosope yangune. Pinawecetaga nikusuya, kumbuya mwanangu, nginiwa maloŵe gakwika kuntima, gati mpaka lelo nikwenda kucisango cakolekwa mwanangu nikumkamula une ligonga lya ciselo. Celego ngututako. Kwalini nagapali gani getuwa kanganile nambo nagagaga maloŵe gakwe, cisukulu cangu cikopoce.*

[4] I have drawn attention to the cathartic effect of accusations of sorcery and public confession of guilt in a paper, 'A Note on the African Conception of Causality', *The Nyasaland Journal*, v, 2 (July 1952), 57–8.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

613 769 178 memory of the ancestors. These are called *sadaka*[1] and are similar to those held at the end of the mourning period. They are usually held when one of the lineage members has had a dream about an ancestor. The senior members are told of this and interpret it to mean that a feast in his memory should be held. The women cook a meal of mush and relish and on an appointed day the members of the matrilineage who live within a reasonable distance gather at the village of the senior section and share the feast. During this feast Islamic texts are chanted in Arabic. It is clear that in this situation the context of the meeting is exactly the same as that of the old offerings made by the lineage leader at the shrine-tree. The common ancestor is recalled and the matrilineage by meeting reaffirms its solidarity.

The Localized Matrilineage

613 621 The matrilineage may itself be localized in the form of a hamlet or small village, as in Ali Kasunka village. It has 9 huts situated about half a mile from Chiwalo's court house in Kawinga's area. The genealogy, hut plan and census are set out in Appendix B. I summarize the genealogy here to show how the hut owners in the village are related. The village is about 300 yards across and about a quarter of a mile from the main road.

Ali Kasunka (C6),[2] the warden of the village, formerly lived in a village known by his mother's brother's name Msilo (B1). Ali Kasunka is the son of the chieftain Mposa in Kawinga's area. The village of Msilo still exists in Mposa area. Ali Kasunka and his sisters moved out of Msilo village and established a hamlet in Malemia's area near Zomba township. While they were there Ali Kasunka went to work as a domestic servant in Zomba. One day the sister of the cook in the household in which he was [595] working came down to visit her brother. She became Ali Kasunka's second wife (he was already married to a woman from Malemia area) and lived with him in Zomba. She was the daughter of the present chief Chiwalo, and was living at her

[1] Sanderson says that this is derived from the Arabic word *sadaqa* which means 'alms'. Sanderson, M., on 'Ceremonial Purification among the Wayao, Nyasaland', *Man*, xxii, 55 (June 1922), 91–3.

[2] The reference number is to assist the reader to identify the person on the genealogy in Appendix B.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

621 this happens the husbands take their wives to their several villages with them.

Throughout this general process the links between groups of any particular area are constantly changing but the general pattern remains constant. A village expands outwards, and the various patrilaterally-linked groups, and often some of the segments of the dominant lineage, form hamlets separate from each other. The dominance of one of the local headmen over the others is still recognized and the general pattern of primacy is maintained. Some of the earliest villages in the area remain intact through many years. Villages which were small hamlets twenty or thirty years ago, when they had just moved into the area, have become relatively senior. Many headmen who were senior then have moved, or their villages have disintegrated, or ceased to exist. Other villages have moved in and are ranked lower. Thus through time the rank of any one headman may have changed, but the ranking system and the relationships of senior to junior headmen remain unaltered.

621 622 631 The general process is the same for the whole chiefdom, though there is less overall structural change than in smaller areas. The more important a village headman, the less likely is his village to disappear entirely. The most important village headmen, therefore, have long histories of association with the chief. Thus while there is considerable change going on at the lowest levels of the social system, the social structure of the whole chiefdom is remarkably stable. In other words, the rate of change taking place within the structure varies directly with the level of organization within that structure. The names of the *nduna* of Kawinga, Liwonde and Malemia are the same as those of the *nduna* who accompanied these chiefs into Nyasaland in the middle of the nineteenth century. Relatively few of them have disappeared. And so it is with important village headmen. The links between them, fixed by their rank and status relative to each other in perpetual kinship and other ties, form the political structure of the chiefdoms. From chiefdom to chiefdom the same pattern of organization is concealed behind an apparent diversity of actual links.

178 622 643 But, as a result of their contact with other peoples and their absorption into the economic and administrative framework of the British Empire, new social relationships are developing

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

amongst the Yao. The religious sanctions behind tribal initiation ceremonies were weakened when many of the village headmen adopted Islam, and the rights of holding the Islamic equivalents fell to commoners who were leading Moslems. Thus for many village headmen the significance of the holding of initiation rights fell away. The White Administration has introduced new political personalities into the field, such as the court clerk, the court sergeant and other members of the chief's bureaucracy. These persons have been able to acquire peculiar positions of power in competition with the chief's traditional advisers.[1] Some wealthy individuals are able to wear better clothes, build better houses, and have more personal attendants, than the chiefs. For example, there is a carpenter in Kawinga's area living near an Indian store,[2] who is wheeled about in a garetta (ricksha) as the chiefs are, and who dresses far better than any of the chiefs.

But these changes have not yet affected the pattern of social relationships appreciably. Up to the present as new elements were introduced into Yao social structure they have been absorbed in terms of the traditional structure. The traditional chiefs, therefore, became the Principal Headmen when White Administration was imposed on them. Village headmen, no longer able to compete with each other in terms of followers and slaves, now began to vie with each other for 'books'. Important village headmen became the Moslem leaders, and the larger mosques were built at their villages. The chiefs, by virtue of their annuity from the Government, are able to maintain a higher standard of living than most of their subjects: they build burnt-brick houses, they wear finer clothes, they are wheeled about in garettas or, latterly, are pillion passengers on bicycles pedalled by retainers. By using their annuities as capital, they have been able to grow more tobacco than most of their subjects and so still maintain economic ascendancy over them.

So that until 1949, at least, in spite of the introduction of

[1] cf. my 'The Political Organization of the Yao of Southern Nyasaland'.

[2] He does not live in a village as most people do; he is an Nguru, and has none of his relatives near him, which is significant. His relationships with his clients are formal and transitory and he is not bound by traditional kinship ties. He therefore attempts to achieve prestige through conspicuous expenditure.

2: Mitchell E-5 (1946-1949) 1956 FT7 Yao FT7

178 622 643 new personalities into Yao society, the social structure remained little altered. There were not enough Government officials, or officials in the chief's bureaucracy, or rich individuals in Yaoland to be able to represent significant elements in the social structure. In the years 1946–49 Yao social structure was still organized in terms of ranked lineage segments at one level, ranked matrilineal groups at a second, and ranked villages at a third.

10: Sanderson D-5 (ca. 1920)1922 FT7 Yao FT7

The man and boys now pass through the arch in order of seniority; each splashes himself with the water in the trough, but neither speaks nor rinses the mouth. The women come next, led by the head-wife of the chief; the latter rinses her mouth and, instructed by the doctor, repeats a prayer similar to that offered by her husband. The remainder of the women merely splash themselves, like the men, before passing through the arch. All then return to the village, where the *pyajila* is continued.

Finally the doctor takes the hammer-head from the trough and hands it to the chief, who refits the haft into it, and, a hoe having been placed on the ground, goes through the form of forging the latter by beating it with the hammer. He then scrapes the ground with the hoe as if clearing a place overgrown with grass; he does not dig with it as in hoeing up the ground for planting seed. After this rite the chief again bathes in medicated water similar to that in the trough, and the ceremony is complete.

Whereas the *pyajila* ceremony and its adjunct, the rite of the arch, are now but rarely performed, no Yao will omit the rite of purification after a death in his family. This ceremony consists of two essential parts, both protective against the *ndalu*, a disease characterised by dropsy and supposed to be contracted by contact with a corpse, or by association, especially by sharing a meal, with those who have been in such contact. The first of these parts is bathing in certain medicines, which protects the bather from ndalu, and the second consists of a sort of communion meal, shared by all friends and especially relatives with those who have been contaminated, and designed to protect those friends and relatives.

The decoction for bathing is made by soaking the roots of *lagundembati* and *lumlemela* in water, together with the bark of *mkomwa*, one piece each from the east and west aspects of the tree; the water assumes a reddish tint, and the whole body is bathed.

The communion meal consists of porridge made from any kind of flour or of rice, and some *nguvala* beans. In the latter some scorched and powdered root of *mtandanpiele* is mixed, with a little salt. All near relatives of the deceased must partake of this meal, as well as their wives and their near relatives; part is carefully put aside for the use of any relative unable to be present at the ceremony.

Latterly, since the spread of Islam among the WaYao, this rite has become confused with the distribution of food to the poor at the funeral of a Muslim, and the Arabic word *sadaqa* ("charity") is now generally used for it, to the exclusion of its wider, correct meaning.

It may be mentioned here that after the death of a child the father is denied access to his wife for a period of about three weeks, and the first act must be one of *coitus interruptus*.

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11: Sanderson D-5 (ca. 1920) 1920 FT7 Yao FT7

/ The alternative term, *mwe*, common to nearly all Bantu languages, is usually reserved for "own father," but not always.

Latterly, though the relationship is really *akwepo*, the husbands of a man's "daughters" or "grand-daughters" are called *atati* –in a complimentary sense, not of course in defining relationship.

The word *akwepo* is rapidly falling into disuetude for men, and is, nowadays, never used in speaking to a man of that relationship, though used freely as a mode of address to women.

Amao (or *ankhulu-wango*, *-wao*, etc., "my, his mother") may be further defined as "great" or "little" in the same manner as *atati*.

The parents of any *atati* or *amao*, and those of one's wife are called *anibuje* ("grandparent"). Great-grandparents are specified as "father" or "mother of my grandfather (or mother)."

The founder of a family is called *Likolo*, especially in prayer—except for the augmentative prefix obviously the same word as *Nsopolo*," a parent," which includes all "fathers" and "mothers."

It is curious in this connection that a name for little girls in general, if one does not know their real name, is *chikolo*. All these words seem to be derived from *-kola* ("have," "possess"), and refer, probably, either to actual or potential possession of offspring.

Achisungulo are distinguished as "male" or "female" according as they belong to the father's or mother's side—irrespective of their own sex.

Conclusions.—The Yao nomenclature of relationships, bearing as it does the evidence of former group marriages, is, like other classificatory systems, gradually changing in conformity with the development of the race, so that it can be used to express consanguinity; Rivers has, I believe, called attention to this process.

The Yao custom—now dying out—of lending one's wife to a visitor (usually a close friend) may be a remnant of ideas carried on from communal marriage, though such a privilege is never given to a relative.

In the same way a man who has had no children (a great stigma) may request his friend to help him—he will never ask a relative—and all of the three parties will keep the secret of the true paternity of any children resulting.

In many tribes the marriage of brother and sister, or a man with his sister's child, is permitted for the law by which a man's property goes to the son of a stranger, but nothing of the kind is allowed among the Yaos. Indeed, they view any incestuous union with particular horror, and such must be very rare. I have heard of a case of a man committing incest with the idea that he would thereby become endued with supernatural power, but all he gained was ostracism; in the old days he would have been burned.

11:Sanderson D-5 (ca. 1920) 1920 FT7 Yao FT7

It is becoming increasingly evident, however, that the law of succession is being avoided, not by extension of the number of marriageable relatives, but by laxity in the observance of the law itself. Nowadays the legal heir is never quite sure of his position, though, as a matter of fact, there is not now much competition for a position which, under European rule, is often exacting and yet unprofitable.

Moreover, owing to the abrogation of the drastic native laws regulating the sanctity of the marriage tie, marriages are becoming increasingly temporary in character. This is reflected in the system of relationship, as the relatives by marriage are becoming equally temporary.